Section I RECOGNIZE

A. HATE CRIMES OVERVIEW

Definition of a Hate Crime

This year the Indiana General Assembly passed bias crime reporting legislation that defines a bias crime as follows: "an offense in which the person who committed the offense knowingly or intentionally: (a) selected the person who was injured; or (b) damaged or otherwise affected property by the offense because of the **color**, **creed**, **disability**, **national origin**, **race**, **religion**, **or sexual orientation** of the injured person or of the owner or occupant of the affected property was associated with any other recognizable group or affiliation." (Section 1. IC 5-2-5-1; House Enrolled Act No. 1011, Effective July 1, 2000; *emphasis added*)

For purposes of its data collection, the FBI defines a hate crime as: "a criminal offense committed against a person or property which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against the victim's race, religion, disability, ethnic origin, national origin, or sexual-orientation." Even if the offender was mistaken in his/her perception that the victim was a member of the group, the offense is still considered a hate crime because the offender was motivated by bias against the person or group.

Overview of Hate Crimes in America

National research indicates that crimes motivated by bias are more violent than crimes without bias as a motivating factor. While assaults compromise only 11% of all crimes committed, assaults constitute 31% of hate crimes.² Hate crime assaults tend to be more severe, and may involve verbal threats, and/or severe physical violence. In addition, hate crimes may involve the use of explosives, arson, weapons, and vandalism.

Unidentified strangers, not organized groups, commit most hate crimes. Among the known perpetrators, 65% of those committing the acts are teenagers or young adults. Of these perpetrators, 63% are white, and 27% are black.

Eight out of every ten reported hate crimes are against individuals. Hate crimes cause more emotional harm to the victims. Victims of hate crimes have been found to experience two and one half times more negative psychological symptoms, due in part to the unprovoked nature of attack and potential for future attack. Victims may experience more severe grief because they perceive a loss of their sense of community, or feelings of betrayal by the American system.

¹ "Hate Crime Data Collection Guidelines," U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division, Clarksburg, W.V., 1996, p. 4-5.

² "Ending Hate: Preventing and Responding to Anti-Islamic Hate Crimes," American Muslim Council, Washington, D.C., 1998, p.3.

There are higher victimization rates for some groups. For example, gay men are 400 times more likely to become a victim of a hate crime than individuals associated with any other group.³ In many instances, victims experience multiple attacks before deciding to report.

Hate crimes have the potential to ignite community disorder. Hate crimes can trigger large community-wide racial conflict, civil disturbances, and even riots. The disturbances can cause short-term social and economic consequences including property damage and loss; injury; and death. Hate crimes can also cause long-term social and economic consequences such as a permanent decline in property value; lower tax revenues; scarcity of funds for rebuilding; and increased insurance rates.

Characteristics of Violent Offenders⁴

The prediction of danger in law enforcement settings has long been a topic of interest, especially for those who must make arrests, conduct threat assessments, are hostage negotiators, and who preside over parole decisions. A number of factors have been identified by researchers as risk indicators for future violence. They include past violence, substance abuse, mental disorders, brain damage, and a history of witnessing violence in the home. While these risk indicators are well known to many, there has been no systematic method of combining all that is known about risk indicators into an off-the-shelf, user friendly model that can be applied to individual cases.

The following checklist was developed by Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) Alan C. Brantley of the Critical Incident Response Group's Investigative Support Unit, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia. It is intended to serve as a <u>guide</u> when conducting assessments of subjects suspected or known to be dangerous. The items included on the checklist were selected primarily on the basis of both law enforcement and mental health experience with violent offenders.

Anger/low frustration tolerance – reacts to stress in self-defeating ways, unable to effectively cope with anxiety, acts out when frustrated. Frustration leads to aggression.

Impulsive – is quick to act, wants immediate gratification, has poor judgement, has limited or impaired cognitive filtering (A-C vs. A-B-C).

Emotional liability/depression – quick-tempered, short-fused, hotheaded, "flick" rapid mood swings, mood, sullen, irritable, and humorless.

Childhood abuse – sexual and physical abuse, maternal or paternal deprivation, rejection, abandonment, exposure to violent role models in the home.

³ "Research Results on Hate Crimes," U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division, Clarksburg, W.V., 1996, loose leaf.

⁴ Taken from Hate Crime Training Materials folder of the Criminal Justice Information Services Division of the FBI. For additional information, please refer to FBI contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

Loner – is isolated and withdrawn, has poor interpersonal relations, has no empathy for other, lacks feeling of guilt and remorse.

Overly sensitive – hypersensitive to criticism and real or perceived slights, suspicious, fearful, distrustful, and paranoid.

Altered consciousness – sees red, "blanking," blackouts, derealization or depersonalization ("it's like I wasn't there; it was me but not me"), impaired reality testing, hallucinations.

Threats of violence – toward self and/or others direct, veiled, implied, conditional.

Blames others – projects blame onto others, fatalistic, external locus of control, avoids personal responsibility for behavior views self as "victim" vs. "victimizer," self-centered, sense of entitlement.

Chemical abuse – especially alcohol, opiates, amphetamines, crack, and hallucinogenic (PCP, LSD), and angry drunk, dramatic personality/mood changes when under the influence.

Mental health problems requiring in-patient hospitalization— especially with arrest history for any offenses prior to hospitalization.

History of violence – towards self and others, actual physical force used to injure, harm, or damage.

Odd/bizarre beliefs – superstitious, magical thinking, religiosity, sexuality, violent fantasies (especially when violence is eroticized), delusions.

Physical problems – congenital defects, severe acne, scars, stuttering, any of which may contribute to poor self-image, lack of self-esteem, and isolation. History of head trauma brain damage/neurological problems.

Preoccupations with violent themes – movies, books, TV, newspaper articles, magazines (detective), music, weapons collections, guns, knives, implements of torture, S & M, Nazi paraphernalia.

Pathological triad/school problems – fire setting, enuresis, cruelty to animals, fighting, truancy, temper tantrums, inability to get along with others, rejection of authority.

HATE CRIMES OFFENDER TYPES

Offender Type	Offender Characteristics	Precipitating Events	Motivation	Victim	Location	Additional Characteristics
Thrill Seeker	 Generally groups of teenagers Generally not associated with organized hate [extremist] groups 	► Generally none	Psychological or social thrill	 Any member of vulnerable group Member of groups perceived as inferior by offender 	 Outside of offender's "turf" Areas frequented by target groups 	 Attacks random Difficult to identify offender Often involve desecration and vandalism Hatred relatively superficial
Reactive Offender	 Has "rights" and "privileges" that do not extend to victim Not usually associated with organized hate [extremist] group, but may call for assistance if they perceive a threat 	Perceived threat to "way of life" – community, workplace, privilege	Protect against perceived threat "Send a message" to outsiders	Individual or group who are a perceived threat, most often people of color	Offender's neighborhood, most often school, place of work	 When threat subsides behavior subsides Feel little or no guilt because behavior was a justifiable response to a threat
Mission Offender	 May be psychotic, impaired ability to reason Perceives victim as evil, subhuman, and/or animal 	None	 Instructed by "higher authority" to rid world of Evil Perceives "conspiracy" by victim group Sense of urgency before "it's too late" 	offender's frustrations All members of	Areas where members of the target Group are likely found	 Rarest type of offender Crimes are often violent in nature-sometimes result in suicide Provides "platform" or philosophy for thrill seeker and reactive offenders

⁵ "Hate Crimes: The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed", Jack Levin and Jack McDevitt, Plenum Press, New York, 1993.

POTENTIAL TROUBLE DATES: EXTREMIST GROUP CALENDAR

January	February	March	April	May	June
KKK Annual Rally (Pulaski, TN)	BLACK HISTORY MONTH ************************************	GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL'S BIRTHDAY (Aryan Observed)	MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DEATH	WHITE WORKER'S DAY (Aryan Observed)	NATIONAL GAY & LESBIAN PRIDE MONTH
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S BIRTHDAY		Andrew Jackson's Birthday (Odinist Observed)	Waco Day Thomas Jefferson's Son's Birthday (Odinist Observed)		"Night Of The Long Knives" Gordon Kahl's Death
ROBERT E. LEE BIRTHDAY, JOHN SINGER REMEMBRANCE DAY (Aryan Observed)		ANNIVERSARY OF SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH	ARYAN YOUTH CONGRESS RALLY (Weekend closest to Hitler's Birthday) in Hayden Lake, ID		KLANSWOMAN, KATHY AINSWORTH'S DEATH
Martin Luther King, Jr. Day (Observed) Robert Matthews' National Holiday (Aryan Observed)			Hitler's Birthday		
July	August	September	October	November	December
	DEATH OF RUDOLPH HESS, HITLER'S DEPUTY FUHRER				
ARYAN NATIONS WORLD CONGRESS (Hayden Lake, ID)		LABOR DAY (Stone Mountain, GA)	Yom Kippur (Jewish Holiday)	Anniversary of Kristallnacht (Start of Nazi's)	World AIDS DAY BOMBING OF PEARL HARBOR
ALL KLAN CONGRESS (Weekend In July)		FIRST DAY OF ROSH HASHANAH (Jewish Holiday)	LEIF ERIKSON'S DAY (Odinist Observed) NATIONAL COMING OUT LESBIAN/GAY PRIDE DAY (Observed on college campuses)	CAMPAIGN "THANKSGIVING" (Problems experienced by Native Americans) (Aryan Observed)	ROBERT MATHEWS' DEATH, NATIONAL MARTYR DAY (Aryan Observed)
			COLUMBUS DAY (Problems experienced by Native Americans)		
			HALLOWEEN (Vandalism of cemeteries accompanied by racial/religious slurs is widespread)		

⁶ Simon Wiesenthal Center republished (1997) from Klanwatch Intelligence Report – February, 1992

B. TARGETED GROUPS

Arabs as Targets⁷

The problem of anti-Arab discrimination is compounded by the rampant stereotypes of Arabs in the U.S. media. Negative images of Arabs and, by association, Arab Americans, are pervasive in broadcast and print outlets which capitalize on the tired cliches of Arabs as ruthless terrorists oil-rich "sheikhs," desert Bedouins, greasy merchants, and so forth. At the same time, there is almost a total absence of positive images of Arabs as loving parents, competent professionals, or conscientious citizens. Arabs are typically portrayed as a threat or an object of mockery, while the Arab world is presented without complexity or subtlety. There has been no "Dances with Wolves" for the Arab world. No "Fiddler on the Roof" for traditional Arab village life. No "Cry Freedom" for the Intifada.

The effect of media images on popular perception cannot be dismissed as mere entertainment. Indeed, there is a link between the media's anti-Arab spin on an event and the ensuing violence and discrimination directed at Arab Americans. A case in point is the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, when the media rushed to point blame at Arabs in the absence of evidence. As a result, more than 200 hate crimes were committed against Arab Americans and Muslims in the few days when speculations were flying on news outlets. (A Rush to Judgment, Council on American-Islamic Relations, 1995)

Dr. Jack Shaheen, author of <u>The TV Arab</u> (Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1984) and the foremost authority on media stereotypes, identified the following myths perpetrated by the media about Arabs and Muslims:

- Media Myth 1: Islam is a monolithic religion and all Muslims are radical and violent. Islam is seen as a "non-Western" religion, rather than a branch of a common Judeo-Christian-Muslim tradition. There is a tendency among some intellectuals and policy-makers to regard Islam as the new, post-Cold War "enemy." Sadly, this perception of enmity with Arabs and Muslims helps create a climate in which anti-Arab discrimination can flourish.
- ♦ **Media Myth 2**: All Muslims are Arabs. In fact, Islam has adherents from every racial and ethnic group. Only about 12 percent of Muslims are Arabs. Most Muslims are neither Arab nor Persian, but Indonesian, Indian or Malaysian.
- Media Myth 3: All Arabs are Muslim. While the majority of Arabs are Muslims, about 15 million of them are Christians ranging from Eastern Orthodox to Episcopalians to Roman Catholics.
- ♦ **Media Myth 4**: All Middle Easterners are Arabs. Many Americans wrongly assume that Iranians and Turks are Arabs as well.

⁷ "1996-1997 Report on Hate Crimes & Discrimination Against Arab-Americans," American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, pp. 38-39. For additional information, please refer to American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

Throughout this century, the media has typically portrayed Arabs as one of the 3 B's billionaires, bombers or belly dancers. The "typical" Arab male is portrayed as a terrorist or an oil sheikh bent on violence, greed and abuse. Another popular image is that of the Arab woman as oppressed, veiled and submissive - or, to the other extreme, as a loose belly dancer.

In his latest publication, Arab and Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture (Georgetown University: Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, 1997), Dr. Shaheen presents an in-depth look at the portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in the entertainment and news media. Dr. Shaheen, who has monitored the media for 20 years, estimates that 25 to 30 movies vilifying Arabs and Muslims air on television networks and cable shows every week. These are just the re-runs. New shows that perpetuate Arab stereotypes are being produced regularly. In addition, he found that at least one cartoon a week is aired on television that includes stereotypical images of "evil" Arabs. Shaheen has also documented over 900 motion pictures with anti-Arab biases since the start of the commercial film industry in 1893.

In short, Arab stereotypes are pervasive in American popular culture despite the recent trend toward greater multicultural representation. In the 1997-98 television season, about one third of all prime time programs feature minority characters including Latinos, Asian-Americans, African-Americans and gays. Not one Arab American character has yet appeared. While most ethnic groups can see positive representations of themselves on television, Arab Americans cannot. The prevalence of negative media images make the Arab-American community particularly vulnerable to hate crimes and discrimination.

Jews as Targets⁸

Of attacks upon individuals or institutions because of their religion, the overwhelming majority - 82% of such crimes reported by the FBI for 1995 - were directed against Jews.

As with attacks upon African-Americans, hate crimes against Jews draw upon centuries of such assaults, from the pogroms of Eastern Europe to the Nazi Holocaust to the cross burning of the Ku Klux Klan in this country. Hate crimes against Jews in the United States range from physical assaults upon individuals to desecration of synagogues and cemeteries and the painting of swastikas on private homes. As with hateful acts upon other minorities, the pain is increased by arousing feelings of vulnerability and memories of persecution, even extermination, in other countries and in other times.

Hatred against Jews is fed by slanders and stereotypes that have their origins in Europe extending back for centuries. These range far beyond the view that Jews were "Christ-killers" and include conspiracy theories involving "international bankers," the State of Israel, and groups ranging from communists to freemasons. Such views are spread by groups on the political right as well as on the left who find little basis for agreement except for their anti-Semitism. As in the past, these extremists have tried to exploit the hardships of Americans from unemployed industrial workers to hard pressed farmers. Similarly, extremists associated with some black nationalist groups have promoted anti-Semitic conspiracy theories within the black community, exploiting the pain of poverty and discrimination and exacerbating tensions between African-Americans and Jews.

Conference Education Fund, January 1997, pp. 9 – 10. For additional information, please refer to LCCR and LCEF contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

⁸ "Cause for Concern: Hate Crimes in America," the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the Leadership

In a private survey of anti-Semitic incidents (it is important to note that this survey includes hateful speech as well as hate crimes) reported to the ADL in 1995, the group found 1,843 acts against property or persons. This included 1,116 incidents of harassment and 727 incidents of vandalism.

Crimes against Jews included:

- On July 16, 1995, in Cincinnati, Ohio, a group of youths assaulted the son of a community rabbi, chasing him for about a block before they caught him outside the synagogue and beat him until he collapsed on the street. The next day, the group assaulted a 58-year-old recent immigrant from Russia in his own driveway. A group of five young men, aged 15 to 18, was arrested and convicted for the assaults. At the sentencing, the judge asked one of the young men, Brian Scherrer, why he had committed the crimes. He explained the attacks were part of a gang initiation and that one victim was chosen because "he was Jewish."
- On August 19, 1991, a traffic accident in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, New York, (a community with a long history of racial and religious animosity among African-Americans, Hasidic Jews, and Caribbean nationals) resulted in the tragic death of seven-year old African-American Gavin Cato and injury to his cousin, Angela. The driver of the car was part of Grand Rebbe Menachem M. Schneerson's motorcade. The Grand Rebbe was a religious leader of Lubavitch Hasidic Jews. A riot followed over three days during which crowds roamed the streets yelling "Get the Jews" and "Heil Hitler." Jewish-owned homes, cars and other property were attacked. Yankel Rosenbaum, an Australian scholar, was stopped by a gang of twenty youngsters who yelled "Get the Jew." Rosenbaum was assaulted, held down, stabbed, and left bleeding on a car hood. He died.
- ♦ In Phoenix, Arizona, crime of vandalism erupted. A Maltese Cross, SS lightning bolts, "Dirty Jews go to Auschwitz," "Sieg Heil," and a swastika were spray painted on the Temple Beth El Congregation.
- ◆ Freddy's Fashion Mart was a Jewish-owned store in Harlem, New York, that rented space from a black church and sublet some of that space to a black-owned record store. The land lord and owner of Freddy's wanted the Fashion Mart to expand. The owner of the record store did not want to move and a protest of Freddy's was begun. Some people on the picket line, and their supporters, regularly engaged in anti-Semitic rhetoric. On December 8, 1995, Roland Smith, one of the protesters, entered the store with a gun and lighter fluid. He doused the store and set it on fire. Eight people including Smith died. Although none were Jewish, anti-Semitism strife was an underlying factor."

Hispanics as Targets9

Of 814 hate crimes in 1995 that were motivated by bias based on ethnicity or national origin, 63.3% - 516 in all - were directed against Hispanics.

In California and throughout the Southwest, long-existing antagonisms against Hispanics have been aggravated by the furor over immigration. With job opportunities declining at a time

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 $^{^9}$ "Cause for Concern: Hate Crimes in America," the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the Leadership Conference Education Fund, January 1997, pp. 10-11. For additional information, please refer to LCCR and LCEF contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

of defense cutbacks and economic recession, there have been renewed calls for restrictions against legal immigration and harsh measures against undocumented immigrants. In November, 1994, 59% of California voters approved a statewide referendum proposal, Proposition 187, which declares undocumented immigrants ineligible for most public services, including public education and non-emergency health care.

As with attacks upon African-Americans and Jews, attacks upon Hispanics are part of a history of hatred. In California and throughout the Southwest, there have been recurring periods of "nativism," when not only newcomers but also longtime U.S. citizens of Mexican descent have been blamed for social and economic problems. During the Depression of the 1930s, citizens and non-citizens of Mexican descent were the targets of mass deportations, with a half million "dumped" across the border in Mexico. In the early 1950s, a paramilitary effort, with the degrading name "Operation Wetback," deported tens of thousands of Mexicans from California and several other southwestern states.

The historian Juan Ramon Garcia describes the climate of fear and hatred that existed from the 1930s through the '50s: "The image of the mysterious, sneaky, faceless 'illegal' was once again stamped into the minds of many. Once this was accomplished, 'illegals' became something less than human, with their arbitrary removal being that much easier to justify and accomplish."

While undocumented immigrants and their impact on public services is a legitimate concern, much of the recent debate has echoed the nativist rhetoric of earlier eras. For instance, Ruth Coffey, the founder of Stop Immigration Now, told the Los Angeles Times: "I have no intention of being the object of 'conquest,' peaceful or otherwise, by Latinos, Asians, Blacks, Arabs, or any other group of individuals who have claimed my country."

Glenn Spencer, president of Voices of Citizens Together, which collected 40,000 signatures to qualify Proposition 187 for the ballot, said: "We have to take direct and immediate action to preserve this culture and this nation we have spent two centuries building it up."

During the emotionally charged debate over Proposition 187, hate speech and violent acts against Latinos increased dramatically. And, in the aftermath of the approval of 187, civil rights violations against Latinos went on the upswing, with most of the cases involving United States citizens or permanent legal residents. All in all, in the Los Angeles metropolitan area alone, the County Human Relations Commission documented an 11.9% increase in hate crimes against Latinos in 1994.

On November 12, 1994, Graziella Fuentes (54) was taking her daily one mile walk through the suburban San Fernando Valley, when eight young males 14 to 17 years old shouted at her that now that Proposition 187 has passed, she should go back to Mexico. After calling her "wetback" and other names, they threw rocks at her hitting her on the head and back.

Bigotry and hate crimes against Hispanics are not confined to California and the Southwest. From the Midwest, to the Northeast, to Florida, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and immigrants from other countries in Central and South America have been the targets of harassment and violence.

Here are several examples of hate crimes against Hispanics over the years:

- ◆ In the summer of 1995, Allen Adams and Tad Page were sentenced to 88 and 70 months, respectively, for their roles in the ethnically motivated shooting of four Latinos in Livermore, Maine. Three of the shooting victims were migrant laborers working in an egg farm, while the fourth was visiting his ailing mother, a migrant worker. The incident began at a store, where the victims were trying to make a purchase. Adams and Page, who were also at the store, taunted the victims with ethnic epithets, telling them: "Go back to Mexico or [we'll] send you there in a bodybag." After the victims drove away from the store, Adams and Page chased them by car, firing 11 rounds from a nine-millimeter handgun at the victims' automobile. One victim was shot in the arm, while another bullet hit the driver's headrest, just a few centimeters from the driver.
- On June 11, 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a Latino family in the Antelope Valley, California, city of Palmdale. They spray-painted these messages on the walls: "White Power" and "your family dies."
- ♦ A Hispanic man at a camp for homeless migrant workers in Alpine, California, was beaten with baseball bats by six white men in October, 1992. The assailants later reportedly bragged about "kicking Mexican ass."
- While not the focus of this report there have been well-publicized reports of severe police beatings of Hispanics suspected of being undocumented immigrants.
- ♦ In April 1996, two Riverside County, California sheriff's deputies were videotaped beating two suspected undocumented Mexican immigrants. The man and woman were continuously struck with batons and the woman was pulled to the ground by her hair.
- Bobbi Murray, an official with the Coalition for Human immigrants' Rights of Los Angeles said in response to the beating: "We were really sickened when we saw it. But we're not inordinately surprised because we've been concerned for a long time that this inflamed election year rhetoric of bashing immigrants and singling them out as an enemy creates an atmosphere that gives license to this sort of stuff."
- Hispanic rights organizations charge that Hispanic-Americans are often targets of a growing trend of abuse by private citizens and local law enforcement officials. They attribute the increasing abuse in part to the hostile political climate in which anyone who is perceived as an immigrant becomes a target for "enforcement" activities that are excessive, inappropriate, and often illegal.

Amish as Targets¹⁰

MUNCIE, INDIANA - The Amish are easy targets for hate crimes because they rarely fight back and their assailants know it, says a Ball State University researcher. Interviews with Amish families in northern Indiana reveal long-standing victimization that goes back several generations, said Bryan Byers, a criminal justice professor. Byers selected Amish residents in Indiana, as it has the third largest Amish population in the United States, surpassed only by Ohio and Pennsylvania. "In talking with the Amish, we found they have been targets of hate crimes for hundreds of years of their history," Byers said. "They have been easy targets for

¹⁰ Taken from a July 9, 1997 media release of the Ball State University's University Relations office. For additional information, please contact the University Relations office at (765) 285-1560.

groups of young males who want to create mischief by forcing buggies off roads, throwing stones at Amish farmers and tossing fireworks at their horses."

Assailants think nothing about attacking an Amish person or stealing from their farms. For many non-Amish residents in northern Indiana, harassing members of the religious sect is a way of life. Byers found his interviews with local non-Amish residents disturbing. Many assailants proudly talked about attacking Amish individuals.

"The attacks were always done by groups, not by individuals. The incidents were viewed as simple mischief, no matter how severe the offense," Byers said. "They call the Amish 'clapes' and the attacks or thefts are known as claping," he said. "Several individuals talked to us about how their uncles or fathers had done it as young men. We think it may go into several generations, but the interviews are still continuing."

The Amish date back to 1525 in Europe when a radical group of Christians, nicknamed "Anabaptists," sought a return to the simplicity of faith and practice as seen in the early Christian church in the Bible. Like many other religious groups, they fled to the U.S. to escape religious and social persecution. Amish groups tend to be cautious about technology and involvement with the rest of the world they describe as "English culture." They drive horse drawn carriages, dress plainly, shun modern conveniences like electricity and discourage higher education.

"When talking to the Amish bishops about persecution, one said there wasn't a problem while another said there was," he said. "Others just wanted to know what they could do to us because of the martyrdom that makes up the culture."

Byers doubts that local authorities will be able to stop acts of violence against the Amish, who are pacifists and often refuse to help police or prosecutors. "They want nothing to do with our laws," he said. "They don't hold grudges so I think we'll be required to establish hate crime laws to help them without their assistance."

Religious Institutions as Targets

Arsons, bombings and other acts against houses of worship represent one of the most pernicious and deplorable types of crime facing the nation. In addition to the 22 reports of church burnings in Indiana from August 1996 through July 1998, there have been reports of incidents against members of the Muslim, Jewish, and other religious community members. Muslim religious community reports that they experience more intimidation activity when national and international incidents occur.

As the National Church Arson Task Force ("NCATF") has recognized, "these are serious crimes with devastating consequences for the people and communities affected. In some instances, the history of a community was destroyed, including records of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths." When these crimes are motivated by racism or religious or other bias, the crime may take on an even more troubling dimension. Again, as recognized by the NCATF:

"In the African American community, the church historically has been a primary community institution. It was the only institution that was permitted during the years of slavery. It was the institution that enabled people to read. It has been the institution that formed the backbone for a tremendous amount of political activism. Critical events of the civil rights movement, such as the Montgomery bus boycott, had their genesis in the church. Many

leaders within the African American community grew up in the church or remain ministers of the church."¹¹

Thanks to the work of the NCATF over the past two years, some conclusions may be drawn regarding the causes and motives behind at least some of these deplorable incidents. A review of information compiled by the NCATF in its Second Year Report to the President reveals that racism and other forms of prohibited bias play a part in a troubling number of these incidents. The NCATF opened investigations in 670 arsons, bombings and other incidents directed against houses of worship between January 1, 1995 and September 8, 1998. State and local authorities obtained convictions with regard to 173 incidents. Out of those cases where convictions were obtained, 37 incidents involved the commission of a hate crime or the presence of a hate crime related motive. Four additional defendants plead guilty to lesser charges where the government alleged that the defendants were motivated by hate.

The NCATF further concluded that the incidents, as a whole, were also motivated by numerous other factors, including vandalism, pyromania, mental health disturbances, and attempts to cover up burglaries. Most defendants were not found to be members of organized hate [extremist] groups, although this is not a necessary allegation under federal civil rights laws. In addition, although the NCATF brought conspiracy charges in a number of cases involving common defendants, the conspiracies tended to be confined to small geographic areas. The NCATF found that the cases to date do not support a theory of a broad national conspiracy. ¹⁵

Nationally, approximately 33.6% of the incidents investigated by the NCATF involved African American houses of worship, as compared to 45.9% in the South. In Indiana, only 1 out of 22 incidents, or approximately 4.5%, involved an African American house of worship. Nationally, identified perpetrators are overwhelmingly white and male (75.3%) and predominately young (58.7% age 24 or younger). Similarly, all of the convictions obtained in Indiana through September 8, 1998 involved young white men.

The National Church Arson Task Force Second Year Report to the President is available through the Public Affairs Offices of the United States Department of Justice (202) 616-2765 or the United States Department of the Treasury (202) 622-2966. The report is also available on the Internet at www.atf.treas.gov.

[&]quot;Second Year Report for the President," National Church Arson Task Force, U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1998, p. 19.

¹² Ibid., p. 2.

¹³ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 19-20.

¹⁶ Ibid., Appendix 1, Chart A.

¹⁷ Ibid., Chart D.

¹⁸ Ibid., Chart Q.

¹⁹ Ibid., Appendix 2, p. 6.

U.S. National Church Arson Task Force: Convictions for Violence against Houses of Worship Reported since January 1995 (as of September 8, 1998)

INDIANA²⁰

Leesburg Grace Brethren Church (Leesburg) (Northern District)

On July 22, 1997, this Caucasian church was burned. Damage was estimated at \$550,000. The defendant, a 17-year-old juvenile, was found guilty by a state jury of arson, burglary and theft in connection with this matter. He was sentenced to 20 years incarceration (arson), 4 years incarceration (burglary), and 18 months incarceration (theft), all to be served concurrently.

Faith United Methodist Church (Kokomo) (Southern District) Shiloh United Methodist Church (Kokomo) (Southern District)

On July 13, 1997, and July 22, 1997, these Caucasian churches were burned. Two Caucasian males 23 and 21 years old pled guilty to State charges in connection with these fires. The 23-year-old pled guilty to two counts of burglary and one count of conspiracy to commit burglary. He received 10 years incarceration plus three years supervised probation. The 21-year-old pled guilty to one count of attempted arson, one count of conspiracy to commit arson, two counts of burglary, one count of conspiracy to commit burglary and one count of institutional criminal mischief. He received six years incarceration and three years supervised probation. The arsons were committed to cover up the burglaries.

Peace Evangelical Lutheran Church (Fort Wayne) (Northern District)

On August 3, 1996, this Caucasian church was burned. The damage estimate was \$20,000. There were two points of origin. One point of origin was believed to have been caused by a Molotov cocktail and the other by an accelerant. The defendant, a 23-year-old Caucasian male, confessed to the arson and indicated that he was angry with God. The defendant was convicted of state burglary and criminal mischief charges. He received a two-year sentence for the burglary charge and six years for the criminal mischief charge.

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²⁰ "Second Year Report to the President," National Church Arson Task Force, U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1998, Appendix 2, p. 8.

C. Youth

Youth and Hate Crimes

Young people factor significantly into the statistics of this nation's hate crimes, both as victims and perpetrators. National research has shown that among the known perpetrators of hate crimes 65% of those committing the acts are teenagers or young adults. One study has found that more than half of all hate crimes are committed by young people ages 15 through 24.²¹ Motivations for youths to commit violence are diverse and varied. According to a study conducted in 1993 for Northeastern University, sixty percent of offenders committed crimes for the "thrill associated with the victimization."²² Other research shows that hate crimes have motivations clearly rooted in learned prejudice.

Youth are popular recruits for various hate groups. Those targeted are usually teenagers or young adults who are loners with few friends or those alienated from society. Hate groups garner the attention of youth through the Internet, literature distribution, broadcasts over public access television, and personal contact. For example, the World Church of the Creator, of which Benjamin Smith, aged 21, was a product, is involved in one-on-one recruiting efforts targeting young people. Devin Burghart of the Center for New Community, an Oak Park, Illinois nonprofit that tracks the activities of hate groups in the Midwest, describes some of the other recruiting tools used to lure youth into the mindset of racial bias:

One of the most powerful propaganda tools [extremist groups] have now is music. There are dozens of different white power bands that are active, and their music is available, and not only from mail order anymore. Now you can go into suburban record stores like Record Breakers and purchase CDs by bands like Brutal Attack and Mud Oven. Some of the most violent, vile, hardcore racist and anti-Semitic literature you can imagine is on those records.²³

The majority of youth involved in violence are influenced by peers rather than by organized hate groups. According to Howard Pinderhughes, an assistant professor in the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the University of California, the perpetrators of youth violence are just ordinary young people.

Most people, when they hear of racial violence, think of rednecks in white hoods burning crosses or skinheads in black storm trooper boots with swastikas on their arms. But the reality of contemporary racial violence is that it is ordinary young people under the age of twenty who are perpetrating the overwhelming majority of racially motivated crimes. Most of the violence is random. It is not connected with an articulated racial ideology. There are no organized groups, no clear political objectives.²⁴

Ben Winters, "Hate Thy Neighbor," New City, September 16, 1999, pp. 10-13.

²¹ "Ending Hate: Preventing and Responding to Anti-Islamic Hate Crimes," American Muslim Council, Washington, D.C., 1998, p. 3.

²² Journal of Intergroup Relations, p. 10.

²⁴ Pinderhughes, Race in the Hood: Conflict and Violence among Urban Youth. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, p. 4.

Certain young people believe that they will earn respect from their friends by committing acts of violence. One "gaybashing" youth was quoted as saying: "We were trying to be tough to each other. It was like a game of chicken-- someone dared you to do something and there was no backing down." Many acts of violence are committed as part of gang initiation. Group bonding is enhanced by the sharing of a common enemy.

Other young people involved in hate crimes act in response to a perceived threat. According to Pinderhughes, "racial hatred and fear fulfills a function for many human beings. This is not a biologically based, predetermined predisposition but, rather, a learned set of attitudes and beliefs that help individuals define who they are and are not; manage anxieties, fears and frustrations; and feel power and worth in their lives." Youth who feel frustrated and angry that their way of life, their future economic prospects, and their social position are threatened often interpret this threat as coming from a certain racial or ethnic group. Feeling powerless in society, they may then respond to such a perceived threat through violence. Violence of this nature has been labeled "scapegoating." For more information on hate crime offenders and their motivations, see the chart entitled "Hate Crimes Offender Types" set forth in this section of the manual.

Youth hate crimes can occur on the streets, or as seen in Littleton, Colorado and Conyers, Georgia, within the schools. In 1997, 11% of hate crime incidents occurred at schools or colleges. In one survey, 68% of girls and 39% of boys in grades 8-11, reported sexual harassment. Another study indicated that 20% to 25% of students had been victimized in racial or ethnic incidents in the course of a school year. Schools are a prime site because often schools are among the only locations where young people come into contact with people from other racial and ethnic groups. Schools, therefore, have a unique opportunity to teach tolerance and respond quickly and effectively to conflict. The Leadership Council on Civil Rights suggests that the next generation of Americans must be prepared for a diverse society so that differences in races and cultures will perpetuate tolerance instead of conflict and violence.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has released a special publication titled Responding to Hate at School: A Guide for Teachers, Counselors and Administrators. The book explains various techniques used to demean individuals or groups based on race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, ability or appearance. The U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights and the National Association of Attorneys General has published a useful manual entitled Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime, which contains strategies for preventing hate crimes and harassment as well as sample policies from actual school districts. All schools should develop programs directed at preventing hate crimes and harassment and "endeavor to provide students with a curriculum, teaching methods, and school activities that discourage stereotypes and respond to the concerns of students of different races and cultural backgrounds." As there is no bright line between what constitutes a hate crime and what constitutes harassment, schools must respond to both with speed and severe consequences.

²⁵ Journal of Intergroup Relations, p. 10.

²⁶ Pinderhughes, p.24.

²⁷ "Ending Hate: Preventing and Responding to Anti-Islamic Hate Crimes," American Muslim Council, Washington, D.C., 1998, p. 3.

²⁸ "Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime," U.S. Department of Education Officer for Civil Rights and National Association of Attorneys General, p.1.

²⁹ Pinderhughes at 158-159.

³⁰ Southern Poverty Law Center Report, Vol. 29, no. 2 (June 1999), p.1.

³¹ "Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime," p. 8.

The U.S. Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Safe and Drug Free Schools Program published the booklet "Preventing Youth Hate Crime." A portion of this booklet can be found in the response section of this manual. For additional information, please refer to U.S. Department of Education contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

Hate Crimes in Indiana Educational Institutions

Within the last year, hate incidents have been occurring in both the higher educational institutions and at various school corporations throughout the state. Reports of hate incidents have been reported from Valparaiso University, Manchester College, and Indiana University School of Law - Indianapolis. At Valparaiso University, an anonymous caller left an obscenityfilled, threatening voice mail message for two black athletes. 32 The incident prompted a federal hate crime investigation, and a state criminal harassment investigation due to the threat of violence. 33

At Manchester College, a racist e-mail message was sent to the Manchester International Association, Hispanos Unidos, Black Student Union, and the Hispanic American organization.³⁴ Approximately 100 minority students in the four groups received the message. Local authorities did not investigate because no state or federal statute had been violated since the message was directed toward minority groups, rather than individuals.³⁵

At Indiana University School of Law – Indianapolis, a racially derogatory letter directed at the black law students was left in the mailboxes of nineteen students.³⁶ The letter stated that the students were not welcome at the "white man's law school." Campus authorities did not investigate the incident as a hate crime because it did not involve physical threats of violence.³⁸

Incidents have also occurred in various school corporations throughout the state. In Martinsville, racial slurs were allegedly hurled in the parking lot at a visiting school's minority football players.³⁹ Although there was no criminal investigation, penalties were imposed on the Martinsville School Corporation by the Indiana High School Athletic Association.⁴⁰ In Lafavette. teachers and principals suspected of being gay received anonymous letters and phone calls threatening to expose them. ⁴¹ The incident was not officially investigated due to the anonymity of the letters.42

³² "Schools Searching for Racial Harmony. IUPUI, Manchester, Valparaiso Reassessing Race Relations in Wake of Messages of Hatred." The Indianapolis Star/News, March 15, 1998.

³⁴ "Police Say Hate E-Mail Didn't Break Any Laws. It Attacked Groups, Not Individuals." The Indianapolis <u>Star/News</u>, March 14, 1998. ³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "A Racially Derogatory Memo Directed to Black Law Students Has Drawn the Ire of IUPUI Officials and Students and Elicited a Financial Reward to Help Identify the Culprit." The Indianapolis Star/News, January 21, 1998.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁹ "State's Racist Past Lurks in Shadows of Today. Experts Say Indiana is home to Fastest Growing Klan Faction in United States, One Group Says." The Indianapolis Star/News, May 30, 1998.

⁴¹ "Suspected Gay Teachers at Lafayette are Targeted." The Indianapolis Star/News, July 13, 1998.

⁴² Ibid.

D. HATE IN INDIANA

Hate Crimes in Indiana

This year, the Indiana General Assembly passed bias crime reporting legislation that requires law enforcement agencies to collect information concerning hate crimes and to report this information to the Indiana State Police. The Indiana Civil Rights Commission voluntarily began this reporting procedure in 1996, when it developed the Hate Crimes Reporting Network for the purpose of collecting data about the number of hate crimes committed in Indiana and educating the public on the nature and extent of hate crimes. As of October 2000, the network has reporters in 78 counties out of Indiana's 92 counties. The reporting network collects data on the nature, frequency, and location of hate crimes that have been reported throughout Indiana and educates law enforcement and the public on the nature and extent of hate crimes occurring in Indiana. The reporting network collects as much data as possible on the commission of hate crimes occurring statewide and complies the reports in a database. Ultimately, complete reporting benefits all residents and visitors of the State of Indiana, as all citizens of Indiana are affected when hate crimes occur.

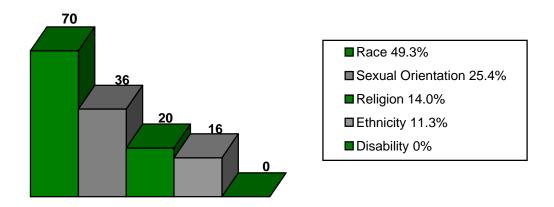
For the period of August 1996 through October 2000, the ICRC reporting network gathered 142 reports of alleged hate crimes and bias incidents that involved over 630 victims and 183 separate offenses. These include 14 arsons of places of worship allegedly motivated by the religious bias of a single primary suspect.

The ICRC hate crimes reporting network has quantified the reports recorded through October 2000. The statistics reveal that 49.3% of the hate crimes are motivated by racial factors; 25.4% are motivated by sexual orientation; 14.0% are motivated by religion; and 11.3% are motivated by ethnicity. (See Graph 1, p. 18)

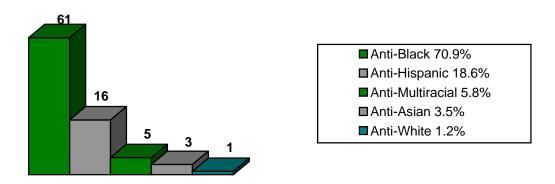
Of the racially motivated hate crimes, 61 were reported as anti-black (70.9%); 16 were anti-Hispanic (18.6%); 5 were anti-multiracial (5.8%); 3 were anti-Asian (3.5%); and 1 was anti-white (1.2%). (See Graph 2, p. 18)

The offenses committed include intimidation; property damage and vandalism; assault; arson; murder; burglary; and theft. Statistically, the majority of offenses involve intimidation (67), property damage and vandalism (48), simple assault (23) and arson (18). However, there have been 10 reports of robbery, 10 reports of aggravated assault, 3 reports of murder and 1 report of attempted murder, which demonstrate the potential for the commission of serious crimes. (See Graph 3, p.18)

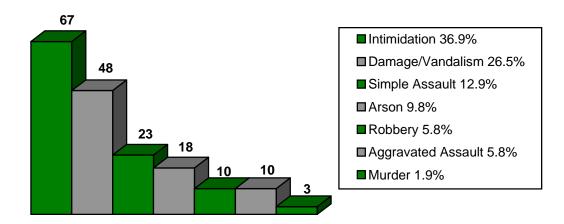
GRAPH 1: Offender's Motivation in Reported Hate Crimes in Indiana (August 1996 - October 2000)



GRAPH 2: Reported Hate Crimes in Indiana by Victim's Race (August 1996 - October 2000)



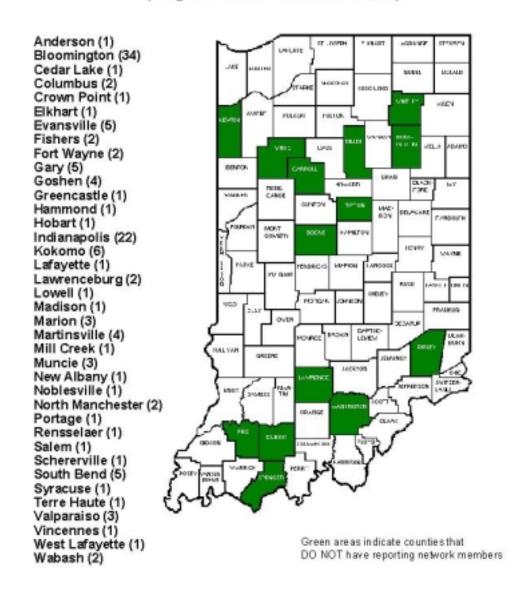
GRAPH 3: Number of Reported Hate Crimes in Indiana by Offense Type (August 1996 - October 2000)



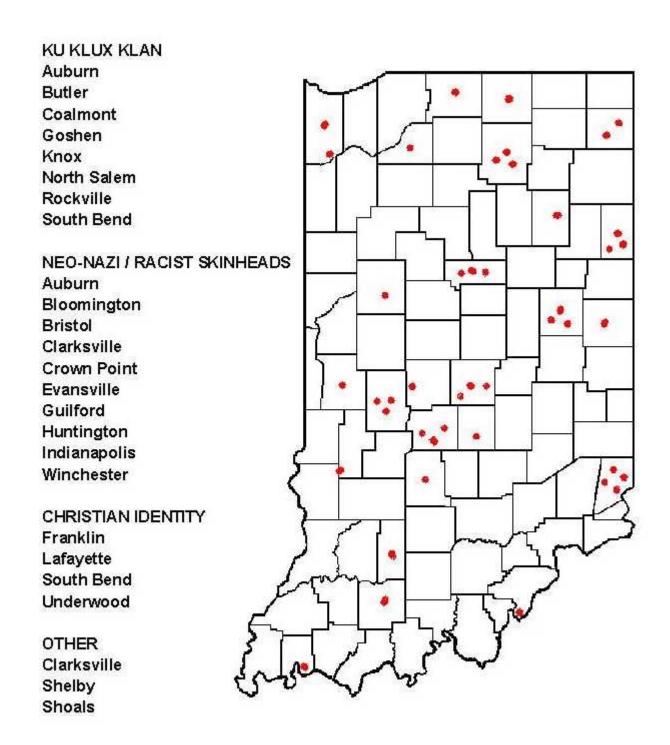
The hate crimes have been reported from 23 counties out of the 78 counties that participate in the reporting network (See Map below).

Locations of Reported Hate Crimes in Indiana

(August 1996 - October 2000)



Locations of Extremist Groups in Indiana



Klan in Indiana

The Ku Klux Klan has an extensive history in the State of Indiana. The Klan gained a stronghold in the 1920s under the leadership of D.C. Stephenson, the Grand Dragon, who filled political offices with Klan members in almost every county. Currently, there are at least 11 extremist groups operating in Indiana. The groups include: The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; Order of Ku Klux Klan; National Knights of Ku Klux Klan; National Association for the Advancement of White People; World Church of the Creator; Identity Study Group; National Socialist White People's Party; The Northern Hammer Skinheads.

According to Klanwatch, a national group that monitors Klan activity, the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is one of the nation's fastest growing and most violent Klan groups. The group has staged 15 public rallies in Indiana, and 14 outside the state. The rallies have cost the state approximately \$650,000.00, primarily due to the cost of policing the events. In many instances, officers are on duty 6 to 8 hours and are paid over-time. It is not unusual for a Klan rally to cost a county \$10,000.00 to \$30,000.00 per event. In addition, when a Klan rally is being held in a county, sheriff's departments from neighboring counties often send their deputies to the rally and absorb the related cost.

At many of the rallies, anti-Klan protestors far outnumber the Klan members and supporters. At a rally held in Starke County in 1996, there were 100 police officers, 50 onlookers, and 8 Klan members. Most recently, a rally held in Booneville had 100 police officers, 1,200 anti-Klan protesters, 36 Klan members, and 50 Klan supporters. In Jasper, St. Joseph College hosted a diversity fair to counter the Klan rally. The diversity fair attracted 2,500 people, as opposed to the Klan rally which was attended by 37 Klan members, 40 supporters, and 100 anti-Klan protesters. When the Klan requested a parade permit in Logansport, the city council passed an ordinance that made it unlawful for anyone over 18 years of age to wear a mask or hood. Anyone who violates the ordinance may be fined up to \$2,500.00. However, the city of Goshen adopted a similar ordinance that was recently struck down as unconstitutional by a federal judge in northern Indiana.

Active Groups in Indiana⁵⁶

This list of active hate [extremist] groups is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project of The Southern Poverty Law Center from hate [extremist] groups' publications, citizens' reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only

⁴³ "State's Racist Past Lurks in Shadows of Today, Experts say Indiana is Home to Fastest Growing Klan Faction in United States, One Group Contends." The Indianapolis Star/News, May 30, 1998.

⁴⁴ "Intelligence Report," Winter 1999, Issue 93, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, Ala., pp. 40-41.

⁴⁵ "Klan Rallies Create Big Bills for Taxpayers." The Indianapolis Star/News, March 29, 1998.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "More than 1,200 Show Up to See Ku Klux Klan; Security Extremely Tight." Evansville Courier, October 18, 1998.

⁵² "Protestors Outnumber Klan At Rally." <u>The Indianapolis Star/News</u>, August 31, 1998.

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ "Anti-mask Ordinance Aimed at Stopping Klan." <u>The Indianapolis Star/News</u>, July 8, 1998.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ "Intelligence Report," Winter 1999, Issue 93, pp. 40-41.

organizations known to be active in 1998, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations.

Groups are categorized as Klan, Neo-Nazi, racist Skinheads, Christian Identity, Black Separatists, and Other. Because racist Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers.

KU KLUX KLAN

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

(national headquarters) Butler

Auburn Goshen

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Various, Indiana

Invisible Empire, Indiana Ku Klux Klan

Knox

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (national headquarters) South Bend

Order of the Ku Klux Klan (headquarters) Rockville

NEO-NAZI

Knights of Freedom

Crown Point Huntington

National Alliance

Crown Point Indianapolis

National Socialist White People's Party

Clarksville

Reichsfolk

(headquarters) Auburn

World Church of the Creator

Bloomington Evansville Indianapolis

RACIST SKINHEADS

Hammerskin Nation

Bristol

E. Profiles of Extremist Groups

Extremist Groups in America

Extremist, or superiority, groups are prevalent in the United States. There are many organizations dedicated to tracking the activities of extremist groups. A list of those organizations can be found in the resource section of this manual. One such organization is the Center for New Community, in Oak Park, Illinois.

The Center's New Community's Building Democracy Initiative tracks 272 far-right organizations active in the Midwestern states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, and Wisconsin. "Of those 272 groups, 52 are Christian Identity ministries, 99 are Christian Patriot/militia groups, 35 are various Ku Klux Klan chapters, 61 are neo-Nazi/racist skinhead organizations, and 25 are other groups." 57

The Center has identified four types of supremacy groups. These supremacy groups are bound together by their use of the Bible to justify their bigotry and violent actions.

- 1. Christian Identity, with a Biblically-based bigotry.
- 2. Christian Patriots, with Constitutional racism and paramilitary organizations.
- 3. Ku Klux Klan.
- 4. Neo-Nazis, and racist Skinheads.

While white supremacist organizations used to be segmented into two populations: those who wanted to attain power through violent revolution and those who wanted to attain power nonviolently through public persuasion; however, the distinction has recently blurred. Many supremacist groups will now couch their message in mainstream language but privately condone terrorist acts. Supremacist groups have even found their way into local government.

Young people are being recruited into extremist organizations through the use of professional-looking publications and music. For more on youth and hate see pages 14 - 16 of this manual. For a detailed description of the various supremacist groups, see the glossary of terms on pages 67 - 72 of this manual. For a list of far-right organizations in the Midwest by state, see the following compilation.

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⁵⁷ "The State of Hate 1998-1999: The Far-Right in the Midwest," Center For New Community, p. 6.

Organizations in the Midwest⁵⁸

ILLIN0IS

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Adamic Christian Fellowship - Gurnee Christian Conservative Churches of America -Louisville Heirs of the Blessing - Herrin Identity Christian Fellowship - Collinsville Solid Oak Ministries - East Peoria The Trumpet II - Macomb

Christian Patriots Defense League - Flora

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

Common law Court - Clark County
Erwin Rommel School of Common Law Chicago
Illinois Constitutional Militia - Libertyville
Illinois Freedom Militia - Unknown
Illinois Patriots Coalition - Centralia
Jural Society - Springfield
Morgan County Minutemen - Jacksonville
Northern Illinois Militia - Romeoville
Northern Illinois Minutemen - Arlington Heights
Northwest Illinois Militia - Whiteside County
Southern Illinois Patriots League - Buncombe
Western Illinois Militia - Monmouth

KU KLUX KLAN

Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Chicago Federation of Klans, Knights of the KKK -Chicago Illinois Knights - Smithboro Illinois Knights (Imperial Klans of America) -Carpenterville Imperial Klans of America - Decatur Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot) - Wood River

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Rantoul

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

New Order Knights - Energy

American National Socialist Resistance - Bellevue

American Nazi Party - Chicago
Aryan Book Center - Decatur
Aryan Free Press - Champaign
Aryan Graphics - Decatur
Aryan Nations - Orland Park
Aryan Nations - Pekin
Aryan Nations - Rock Island
Aryan Nations - Wood River
Day of the Rope - Carbondale
National Alliance -Arlington Heights
Northern Hammer Skins - Des Plaines
Northern Hammer Skins - Naperville
WCOTC - Chicago

WCOTC - East Peoria
WCOTC - Murphysboro
WCOTC - Rantoul
WCOTC - Springfield
White War Commission - Chicago

OTHER

NAAWP - Columbia NAAWP - Marissa NAAWP - Peoria U.S. Taxpayers Party - Elgin

INDIANA

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Bible Truth Research - Underwood Christian Israelite Church - Lafayette Identity Baptist - South Bend Identity Study Group - Franklin

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

Common Law Court - Adams County

Common Law Court - Delaware county Common Law Court - Koskiosko County Common Law Court - Ripley County Common Law Court - Wabash County Common Law Court - Warrick County Dearborn County Militia - Dearborn County Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia - Howard County

⁵⁸ "The State of Hate 1998-1999: The Far-Right in the Midwest," Center For New Community, pp. 15-17. For additional information, please refer to the Center For New Community contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia - Morgan County

Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia - Perry County Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia - Putnum County

Marion County Militia - Marion County

KU KLUX KLAN

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - South Bend

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Butler American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Goshen International Keystone Knights of the KKK -Coalmont

Order of the Ku Klux Klan - Rockville Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot) - North Salem

Ku Klux Klan (Kourier) - South Bend

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

Aryan Nations -Winchester Hammerskins - Bristol National Socialist Party - Clarksville National Socialist White Peoples Party -Indianapolis Northern Hammer Skins - Guilford

WCOTC - Bloomington WCOTC - Evansville WCOTC - Indianapolis

OTHER

NAAWP - Clarksville NAAWP - Shelby

U.S. Taxpayers Party - Shoals

IOWA

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Remnant - Spirit Lake Sacred Name Fellowship - Davenport Sceptre Publishing - Cedar Rapids

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

None

KU KLUX KLAN

None

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

National Socialist Movement - Dexter

OTHER

U.S. Taxpayers Party - Story City

KANSAS

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

America's Future Christian Fellowship - Wichita New Covenant Christian Fellowship - Wichita Unificer - Olathe

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

American Constitutional Militia Network - Wichita Christian Court - Abilene Common Law Court - Jefferson County Common Law Court - Shawnee County Common Law Court - St. Mary's Common Law Court -Wabaunsee County Kansas Rangers - Undisclosed location Kansas Territorial Agricultural Society - Rock

KU KLUX KLAN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Salina New Order Knights - McFarland New Order Knights - Lansing

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

Harnmerskins -Wichita Salt City Skinheads - Hutchinson

OTHER

U.S. Taxpayers Party - Wichita

MICHIGAN

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Church of Christ in Israel - Munising Great Lakes Society for Biblical Research -Jenison

Life Tabernacle Church - East Lansing New Covenant Christian Church - Munger Proclaim Liberty Ministry - Adrian Restoration Bible Church - Berkley Restoration Bible Ministries - Royal Oak Restoration Bible Mission - Vassar

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Arenac Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Bay City Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Flint Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Gladwin County

Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Ithaca
Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Lapeer
Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Midland
Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Saginaw
Central East Michigan Regional Militia Shiawassee

Central East Michigan Regional Militia - Tuscola County

Central West Michigan Regional Militia - Grand Rapids

Central West Michigan Regional Militia -Lakeview

Central West Michigan Regional Militia - Mount Pleasant

Central West Michigan Regional Militia -Muskegon

Central West Michigan Regional Militia - Tustin Christ County Jural Society - Christ County

Common Law Court - Lake County

Common Law Court - Manistee County

Common Law Court - Wexford County

Ethical Good Government - Ionia County

County Justice Pro Se - Dearborn

Lawful Path - Tustin

LEGAL - Pinckney

Michigan Electors Association - Undisclosed location

Michigan Gun Owners - Farmington

Michigan Jural Society - Mount Pleasant

Michigan Jural Society - Ovid

Michigan Militia - Capac

Michigan Militia - Isabella County

Michigan Militia at large - Dexter Michigan

Militia Corps. - Alanson

Michigan Militia Corps. Wolverines 26th Brigade -- Deerfield

Michigan Militia Wolverine Corps. - Kalamazoo Michigan Regional Militia - Bad Axe

National Confederation of Citizens Militias -

Harbor Springs

North American Militia - Battle Creek

Northern Michigan Regional Militia - Alanson

Northern Michigan Regional Militia - Pellston

Northern Michigan Regional Militia - Wolverine

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - Allegan

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - Battle

Creek

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - Burton

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - Fowlerville

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - Ingham County

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - St. Clair

Southern Michigan Regional Militia - Wayne County

St. Clair County Militia - Capac

Superior Michigan Regional Militia - Ishpeming

Superior Regional Militia Corps. - L'Anse

United States Theatre Command - Cass City

KU KLUX KLAN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Caledonia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot) - Hudson Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot) - Waters Knights of the White Kamellia - Howell Knights of the White Kamellia - Lambertville New Order Knights - Milford

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

Arvan Nations - Warren

European American Educational Association -

Eastpointe

Harnmerskins - Rochester

National Alliance - Midland

SS Action Group - Dearborn Heights

Stormtrooper - Eastpointe

WCOTC - Cadillac

WCOTC - Detroit

OTHER

Blood Bond Enterprizes - Waters

NAAWP - Dearborn Heights

NAAWP - Eastpointe

NAAWP - Garden Springs

U.S. Taxpayers Party - Portage

MINNESOTA

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Freedom Books - Edgerton

God's Kingdom Ministries - Fridley

Gabriel's Enterprises - Albert Lea

Kingdom Evangelical Church - Hopkins

Weisman Publications - Burnsville

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

Citizens for a Constitutional Republic - Lakeville Citizens for a Constitutional Minnesota - Apple Vallev

Minnesota Constitutional Rangers - Unspecified

Minnesota Militia - St Cloud

Minnesota Minutemen Militia - Unspecified

KU KLUX KLAN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot) --

Undisclosed location

Rangers of the Kross - Knights of the KKK --

Golden Valley

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

All-American Boys - Rochester

Aryan Nations - Minneapolis

National Socialist Movement - Minneapolis

Northern Hammerskins - Hastings

Northern Hammerskins - St. Paul

Wolf Pack Services - Minneapolis / St. Paul

OTHER

NAAWP - St. Paul

U.S. Taxpayers Party - Woodbury

MISSOURI

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Christian Adamite Party - Mountain Grove
Church of Christ - Oak Grove
Church of Israel - Schell City
Faith Baptist Church and Ministry - Houston
New Covenant Church - Crocker
New Dawn Christian Ministries - Houston
Noah's Books - Lakeview
Our Savior's Church - Gainesville
Our Savior's Church - Gainesville
Restored Church of Jesus Christ Independence
Son Light - Kearney

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

Voice of Warning - Independence

1st Missouri Volunteers - St. Louis
7th Missouri Militia - Granby
George Gordon School of Common Law Isabella
Missouri 11th Christian Civilian Militia Unspecified
Missouri 51st Militia - Grain Valley
Missouri Militia, 42nd Brigade - Lincoln County
Missouri Militia, 58th Brigade - Franklin County
Missouri Militia, 59th Brigade - St. Peters

KU KLUX KLAN

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (off-shoot) -Humansville Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Robb) - St. Louis Knights of the White Kamellia - Leslie

Missouri FOK (Federation of Klans) Inc. - St. Louis

New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Overland

Tri-County White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Mt Grove

Western Missouri SA (Street Action) - Overland NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

Aryan Nations - Lees Summit Fourth Reich Skins - Springfield Hammerskins - Springfield Northern Hammer Skins - St. Louis Waynesville Skinheads - Waynesville White Survival - Springfield

OTHER

Council of Conservative Citizens - St Louis NAAWP - Springfield U.S. Taxpayers Party - Fenton U.S. Taxpayers Party - Florissant

NEBRASKA

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Covenant Christian Church - Omaha Mission to Israel - Scottsbluff

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

None

KU KLUX KLAN

None

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

NSDAP-AO - Lincoln

OTHER

NAAWP - Omaha U.S. Taxpayers Party - Omaha

WISCONSIN

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Basic Bible Church of America - Omro Basic Bible Church of America - Tigerton Christian Posse - Tigerton Christians For Truth - Shawano Common Law Research - Spooner Last Trumpet Ministries - Beaver Dam Mystery of the Kingdom Ministry - Wausau Mystery of the Kingdom Ministry - Wausau Wisconsin Church of Israel - Appleton

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT / MILITIA

Family Farm Preservation Society - Tigerton Present Day Patriots - Berlin Wisconsin Militia - Green Bay

KU KLUX KLAN

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Mercer New Order Knights - Franklin

NEO-NAZI / RACIST SKINHEAD

Aryan Nations - Milwaukee
Euro-American Alliance - Milwaukee
National Alliance - Fond du Lac
New Order / NS Publications - Milwaukee
Northern Hammer Skins - Hartland
Oi! Boys - Kenosha
Stormfront Records - Milwaukee
WCOTC - Franklin
WCOTC - Milwaukee
WCOTC - New Berlin

OTHER

National Investor - Spooner U.S. Taxpayers Party - Dousman U.S. Taxpayers Party - Iron Ridge

Christian Identity Movement: Philosophy⁵⁹

As described in Warrior Dreams: Violence And Manhood In Post-Vietnam America By William James Gibson (1994)

Most white racist groups subscribe to the Christian Identity philosophy to help make sense of the world. This religion was put forth by Edward Hines in an 1871 book called *Identification of the British Nation With Lost Israel.*

It goes like this:

Adam was the father of Abel; Eve slept with Satan, who fathered Cain. Cain, the first Jew, killed Abel and fled the Garden of Eden. Adam had more children and Yahweh chose one of them, Abraham, to receive the covenant and found the non-Jewish Nation of Israel. Abraham's grandson Jacob took two wives and two concubines and fathered 12 sons, the leaders of the 12 tribes of Israel.

In 721 B. C. the Assyrian leader Sennacheri took the 10 northern tribes captive and they disappeared from biblical stories. Hines contends that these tribes became the settlers in Europe. One tribe eventually crossed the Atlantic on the Mayflower where God gave them a new covenant: The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill Of Rights.

Meanwhile, in 586 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar seized the southern tribe of Judah and took them to Babylonia, where Cain fled after killing Abel. It was there he mated with wild animals and created nonwhite races known as "mud people". Nebuchadnezzar converted the tribe of Judah to Satanism, and thus formed the "Jewry" – the people who killed Christ, gave birth to communism, and took over the Federal Reserve bank in the United States.

From this perspective, white Anglo-Saxons are the true Jews – God's chosen people. As Satan and his children, the imposter Jews and their children, the mud people, gain power, the world approaches its end. Good Christians must be prepared for both the Apocalypse and to help bring the Apocalypse on through their battles against Satan's secular representatives of the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG) that runs the United States.

⁵⁹ Taken from a leaflet included in the Training Materials folder of the Criminal Justice Information Services Division of the FBI. For additional information, please refer to FBI contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

The Turner Diaries⁶⁰

Written by William Pierce under the pseudonym Andrew McDonald in 1978 (as described in *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America*, by James William Gibson, 1994).

The book is built on the premise of a white government looking back on its successful rise to power. The diaries are an archaeological find. Earl Turner was an early foot soldier and hero.

The diary started in 1989, with enforcement of "The Cohen Act". The whites have hidden their guns from the feds. The FBI and Israeli hitmen are hunting them down. At the same time the Supreme Court rules that rape laws are unconstitutional since they discriminate against men. Thousands of white women are immediately raped by blacks. Disarmed whites can no longer defend their women and the future of the white race is in doubt.

The organization strategy: guerilla assaults against the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG) to cripple the "System" and to provoke liberals into oppressive measure against the white population.

Organized in cells or small groups so that if caught, one individual could not bring down everyone. These cells committed robberies and murders to finance the organization. They blow up the FBI building in Washington with ammonium nitrate fertilizer bomb in a truck.

A secret in-group called the order is formed. Earl Turner is admitted into the order. After passing the lie-detector tests he is given a secret book which allegedly tells about the white race and its place in the cosmos.

War continues and Turner is captured. He is tortured. He is told that he later must go on a suicide mission to remain in the order.

After a takeover in southern California the organization holds the "day of the rope" where thousands of white liberals and white women who have slept with blacks are hung from street posts. Jews are herded into canyons and shot. Blacks, Asians, and Latinos are exiled.

The war intensifies. Major cities are destroyed. ZOG is crippled. Turner flies suicide mission into Pentagon.

An all-white nation survives.

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Taken from a leaflet included in the Training Materials folder of the Criminal Justice Information Services Division of the FBI. For additional information, please refer to FBI contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

Similarities between The Turner Diaries and the Oklahoma City Bombing

The information below was compiled by investigators at Klanwatch of The Southern Poverty Law Center, and published in the "Klanwatch Intelligence Report," June 1995. It has been updated by the ICRC since the trial and conviction of Timothy McVeigh. For additional information, please refer to Southern Poverty Law Center contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

THE TURNER DIARIES BOMBING	OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING		
Target was a federal law enforcement building	Target was federal building		
Truck bomb	Truck bomb		
Bomb was "a little under 5,000 pounds"	Bomb was 4,400 pounds		
Bomb was a mixture of fuel oil and ammonium nitrate fertilizer	Bomb was a mixture of fuel oil and ammonium nitrate fertilizer		
Bomb went off at 9:15 a.m.	Bomb went off at 9:05 a.m.		
Bomb designed to blow off front of building causing upper floors to collapse	Bomb blew off the front of the building causing upper floors to collapse		
Bombing sparked by passage of federal gun control act	McVeigh was violently opposed to federal gun control		
The main character, Turner, considers himself a "patriot"	McVeigh considered himself a "patriot"		
Turner was a member of anti-government underground cell	McVeigh was peripherally-associated with anti-government groups		
Terrorist robbed banks to fund war	Despite having no jobs, McVeigh and another suspect had thousands of dollars, ski masks and pipes similar to those used in 13 bank robberies		

The National Alliance⁶¹

The National Alliance has had several incarnations. The group was originally established by Willis Carto, anti-Semitic founder of Liberty Lobby, as the "Youth for Wallace" campaign in support of the 1968 Presidential bid of Alabama Governor George Wallace. After Wallace lost the Presidential race, Carto renamed his organization the National Youth Alliance and attempted to recruit activists to his increasingly radical anti-democratic cause. In 1970, William Pierce, a former American Nazi Party (ANP) officer and editor of the *National Socialist World*, left the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP), the successor to the ANP, to join the National Youth Alliance. According to the *Washington Post* at the time, the National Youth Alliance attracted several former ANP activists. These extremists ultimately led the organization away from Carto's influence.

By 1971, Pierce and Carto were openly feuding. Carto accused Pierce of stealing the Liberty Lobby mailing list and sending the individuals listed on it "poison pen" letters that vilified Carto's group. The hostilities between the two men have not abated. Carto currently blames Pierce for a dispute begun in 1993 between Liberty Lobby and another Carto-founded group, the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review.

Since 1974, when the National Alliance dropped the word "Youth" from its name, Pierce has run the group and edited its magazine, *National Vanguard* (originally titled *Attack!*), as well as an internal newsletter, *National Alliance Bulletin* (formerly called *Action*). The National Alliance also publishes *National Vanguard Books*, a catalog of racist and anti-Semitic literature. Unsolicited promotional materials about the catalog and extremist publications listing the catalog have been sent to high school and college students across the country. The principal books promoted by the National Alliance have been the *Turner Diaries*, a novel published in 1978, and *Hunter*, a second work of fiction published in 1989.

In 1985, Pierce relocated the National Alliance from Arlington, Virginia, to a 346-acre farm near Mill Point, West Virginia, which he bought for \$95,000 in cash. There has been some speculation over the years that at least some of the money used for the purchase had come from the proceeds of bank and armored car robberies committed by The Order. Authorities believe that of the \$4 million stolen by members of the terrorist band, \$750,000 was distributed to various white supremacist allies. Tom Martinez, a one-time associate of Bob Mathews who became an FBI informant, has written that in November 1984, Mathews admitted to him that he had donated some of The Order's loot to William Pierce. That same month, Pierce bought the West Virginia farm. He converted it to a compound and called it the "Cosmotheist Community Church." Pierce then filed for federal, state and local tax exemptions. But in 1986, the "Church" lost its state tax exemption for all but 60 acres and those buildings being used exclusively for "religious purposes."

Pierce's formation of the "Church" appears to have been a last-ditch effort to avoid paying taxes. Pierce had tried, years earlier, to acquire tax-exempt status for the National Alliance itself by claiming that his organization was "educational." But the Internal Revenue Service denied the application in 1978. While Pierce appealed, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the IRS's decision in 1983, ruling that the National Alliance did not qualify as an educational organization. (The court's position was supported by amicus curiae briefs filed by ADL, the American Jewish

⁶¹ Excerpts are taken from "Explosion of Hate: The Growing Danger of the National Alliance," Anti-Defamation League publication, 1998, pp. 43 – 45. For additional information, please refer to Anti-Defamation League contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

Congress and the NAACP.) The court noted that Pierce's organization "repetitively appeals for action, including violence" to injure members of "named racial, religious, or ethnic groups," and added that National Alliance published materials that "cannot reasonably be considered intellectual exposition."

Meanwhile, Pierce continued to invest in unusual real estate ventures. In 1992, he paid \$100,000 to Ben Klassen (who is now deceased), founder of the racist, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian Church of the Creator (COTC), for a 21-acre compound in Macon County, North Carolina. Klassen undersold the property, possibly in an attempt to unload his assets and avoid a civil lawsuit holding his organization vicariously responsible for the murder of an African-American sailor by a COTC member.

Pierce put the North Carolina property up for sale again almost immediately after he bought it from Klassen, with an asking price of nearly three times what he had paid. A buyer unconnected to the white supremacist movement purchased the land a year later for \$185,000. The Southern Poverty Law Center, representing the sailor's family, filed suit against Pierce, arguing that the original sale had been a fraudulent pretest to avoid paying the family damages in their claim against Klassen. On May 19, 1996, a federal jury ruled against Pierce and ordered that he gave the murdered sailor's family the \$85,000 profit he made from the land sale.

In 1986, the National Alliance purchased 100 shares of AT&T stock, which enabled the group to place resolutions on the ballot of the corporation's annual shareholders meeting. The first such resolution, proposed in 1987, called for an end to AT&T's minority hiring program, on the grounds that Black people are intellectually inferior to whites. With the explicit condemnation by company officials, the resolution received 8.6 percent of shareholders' votes. The National Alliance resubmitted this proposal over the next three years, with no appreciable change in support. In 1991, the NA group submitted a new resolution calling for AT&T to stop doing all business with Israel. Following a vigorous campaign against the resolution, it was voted down by 96 percent of shareholders. The following year AT&T blocked the National Alliance from resubmitting the anti-Israel proposal; the Securities and Exchange Commission upheld their effort against Pierce's group.

The Militia Movement: The New Klan?62

The (militia) movement has been the focus of national scrutiny since a bomb exploded outside an Oklahoma City federal building in April, killing over 100 people and injuring hundreds of others. Much of the evidence pointed toward 27-year-old Timothy McVeigh, an Army veteran and Pendleton, N.Y. native who had a history of involvement with the militia groups.

There are at least 224 militia groups operating in 39 states, according to a report by Klanwatch, an affiliate of the Southern Poverty Law Center. They are united in their hatred of federal regulatory and taxation policies. Some of them are armed and want to overthrow the federal government by force. Others want more power to be given to local officials.

John Trochmann, founder of the Militia of Montana, recently told a congressional panel that the militias were nothing more "than a giant neighborhood watch." But Michael Reynolds, the

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⁶² Excerpts are taken from "The Crisis," the national magazine of the NAACP, August-September 1995, pp. 22 – 23, and p. 37. For additional information, please refer to NAACP contact information provided in the resource section of this manual.

head of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Militia Task Force, says many militia members seek to revive the states-rights arguments settled by the Civil War. Others have ties to the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazis and other white supremacist groups. Reynolds calls them spewers of "fear and hatred."

What is the real nature of the militia movement? Is it inherently racist and, as such, little more than an updated version of the Klan? Or does it represent a rough-hewn citizens' movement for social justice? Supporters of the movement have no doubt as to the answer.

The militia movement is a group of people who want to fight the movement of the federal government away from its constitutional foundations," argues M. Samuel Sherwood, national director of the U.S. Militia Association. "The groups fight for different things in different parts of the country," Sherwood adds. "In Idaho, the federal government administers more than half of the state's land, through its control of national parks, military bases and other apparatus. The land available for private ownership is very expensive. This makes life more difficult in the state. There is less property tax money available for state revenue. This contributes to the poor quality of the Idaho schools."

"Many of the people in militias are evangelical Christians," states Phillip Litton, a member of the California Republican Assembly. "The state is ordained by God," Litton continues. "It is our responsibility to oppose the state when it violates divine laws from above. The federal government is confiscating people's wealth through income tax. It is getting hard for the lower middle class to pay taxes. The government is also violating the civil rights of its citizens. It violates the rights of Randy Weaver. If it violated his rights, it will violate the rights of all of us. But violence should only be used as a last resort."

Weaver was a white supremacist who barricaded himself inside his Naples, Idaho home in August 1992 and fought an eight-day series of gun battles with federal law enforcement officials trying to arrest him. His wife, son and a federal marshal were killed in the standoff. Weaver had been a fugitive sought on gun-peddling charges. He was later exonerated by a jury from conspiracy charges and has become a hero to supporters of anti-government, right-wing policies.

"After the Waco and Randy Weaver incidents, I began to realize that something was wrong," states militia leader John Mills. "That was when I decided to form the Alameda County Militia six or seven months ago. Clinton and his people have been running cocaine through Arkansas. His wife has already been indicted. The government is importing drugs into the inner city."

Mills, who is black, says the states' rights concept is not necessarily racist. "The government controls education. It controls a person's personal life. But if federal power were transferred to local authorities, the people would have control over those matters."

Sherwood says only one (1) percent of militia members are white supremacists. In his view, the federal government oppresses everyone. Whatever reforms the militia movement is able to carry out must take into account the diversity of U.S. society. Racism only allows the federal government to engage in the practice of "divide and conquer," Sherwood adds. "There are 2,000 men enrolled in militia groups in Idaho alone. And there will be more incidents like the Oklahoma City bombing unless some changes are made."

But opponents of the militia movement say it is anything but the benign image put forth by its proponents. Forty-five (45) of the nation's 224 militia groups have ties with white supremacist groups, according to a Klanwatch report.

Many of them stockpile weapons and ammunition and conduct military-style field exercises. Some sell propaganda and military manuals giving instructions on how to conduct guerrilla warfare, the Klanwatch report adds. The vast majority of the members of militia groups are white males.

There are 100,000 members of militia groups in the country, 25,000 of whom are hard-core white supremacists, according to the Center for Democratic Renewal. The Center is an Atlanta-based watchdog group that monitors right-wing extremist activities.

The very concept of the independently operating militia unit was conceived from a 1992 gathering of white supremacists in Estes Park, Colorado, the Klanwatch report continues. Stirred by Weaver incident, they hashed out the idea that small, leaderless groups could some day provoke a revolt against the federal government by engaging in random acts of violence. The most extreme, racist militias evolved out of this meeting, the report adds.

Most militia members, however, are not white supremacists. Their connections to the radical right are often more subtle. They put forward reasonable sounding ideas like distributing federal power to local authorities. They may not even be aware that such concepts have been historically used to oppress minorities, states Chip Berlet, an analyst with Political Research Associates.

"Many militia members hold views where they could easily say something like 'I have a lot of black friends,' yet believe the Bill of Rights should be eliminated," argues Bill Wassmith, the executive director of the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment. Many of the arguments the militias make were used "to justify slavery."

The group's constant bombardment of their members with negative, conspiratorial information eventually makes them more militant, increasing the movement's size of its extremist wing over time, argues Noah Chandler, an analyst at the Center for Democratic Renewal.

The militia's movement's future is an open question. American society has changed in the past generation and right-wing extremist politics has had to change with it. Open expression of bigotry is frowned upon. Former United Klans of America Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton summed it up best in a recent interview: "Times are changing. Society's changing. You can't have parades with Klansmen in robes anymore. You can't have Klansmen riding horses through the streets anymore. The public won't go along with it..."

The militia goes halfway. It preserves many of the old ideas of the white supremacist movement while maintaining a heterogeneous membership base. The militia movement's militarism and conspiracy theories only appeal to a small group of people. In a number of small, isolated communities, militias have had a major impact. They come to meetings armed and intimidate elected officials and even discourage some people from running for public office. Militia groups are getting better at packaging their views with issues like gun control that appeal to large numbers of people.

The militia and the white supremacist movement make mainstream politics more conservative, Chandler adds. California's Proposition 187, that would reduce the rights of

immigrants, was popularized by former Klansman David Duke. Now it is seriously debated, Chandler continues.

"The Southern Poverty Law Center's Reynolds looks beyond the shores of the United States to Bosnia and Lebanon for his views of militias. Those countries are armed camps. The same thing could happen in the United States, he warns.